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## Pacifist programme wins seats in Dutch Parliament

By HEIN VAN WIJK

THE elections for the Dutch House of Commons last week resulted in victory for two members of the Pacifist Socialist Party. The Party got 1.84 per cent of the votes which almost entitled them to three seats.

The first man elected was Hans Lankhorst, a well-known member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and of the Dutch conscientious objectors' organisation. The second, Dr. O. Noordenbos, is a well-known member of the Third Way movement.

The task of the two pacifists will be extremely difficult. The Dutch Labour Party with 48 seats, the Dutch Roman Catholics with 49 seats, the two orthodox Protestant parties with 14 and 12 seats all stand for war preparations. All of them advocated rearmament, conscription, none of them, as far as I remember, ever opposed the Dutch Government's attitude of questions of racialism and discrimination in UNO, where the Dutch representative invariably supported whites, wherever they were in power.

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# CLUTTON-BROCK WRITES FROM PRISON



## LEGAL DEFENCE PLANS

MR. GUY CLUTTON-BROCK of the inter-racial St. Faith's Farm in Southern Rhodesia, who has been detained in Salisbury under the Emergency Regulations has sent a letter from prison "to friends everywhere" and to the Trustees of the African Development Trust which was established to support St. Faith's Farm.

In his letter Mr. Clutton-Brock writes of the hours of screening by detectives to which he was subjected and of a "clash of motives" and a "colossal edifice of misunderstanding."

"After hours of being screened by CID I felt satisfied and at peace. Mistakes we have made by the thousands. We may differ on detail, but it is the main line that is challenged in what is happening here. There is a clash of motives, and a colossal edifice of misunderstanding has been built up. Everything we have all been trying to do in Africa is challenged. Every visit, every gathering of mixed people at St. Faith's, etc. Those who know best what partnership means and how best to make it work have been taken from St. Faith's. The manager, the chairman of the village committee, headmaster of the village school, the husband of the head of Molly's

clinic. What of the other 490?

"As for us, every detail of our lives comes up for scrutiny. It has been obvious that this would happen one day, though not so soon.

"We had no inkling of violence in Nyasaland. I believe it flared up suddenly and inevitably. In Southern Rhodesia some may have been foolish and wrong, the tension was rising, but I have no evidence of menace. But now many must go through woe and then pick up the bits and put them together. Yet this will stimulate growth. Even now there are signs of response.

**"Sorry chaps . . ."**

"I was two-thirds of the way through writing to explain why Nyasaland did not like Federation. Now the police have it.

"The future will reveal itself. I have unwavering faith in it. Whatever we all go through, and in the big things that are happening to mankind through the will of God, and in which we are privileged to play one part or another, all of us.

"So sorry for our failings, chaps. I believe we are all trying to do, however poorly, the thing that is needed in Africa, and which will presently prevail."

**Appeal fund**

## In the Square after all

THE final rally at the close of the March from Aldermaston to London on Easter Monday will take place in Trafalgar Square.

The regulation which allows only one rally in the Square on any one day has been relaxed.

## MCF to picket Rhodesia House

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Christian Action is one of the latest bodies to appeal to its members to send a contingent.

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The two new Members of Parliament will have to say that everything related to war, war preparations and militarism is immoral and that war is a crime against humanity. They will have to say that in the clash between whites and non-whites right is on the side of the non-whites.

### Communist split

It is specially important that these two people should stick to their principles when they are in Parliament. The Communist Party has by its very nature always opposed military and imperialist measures by the Government, but it has also by its very nature given its blessing to the very same actions when they have been taken by Communist Governments.

The Communist Party which got 6.61 per cent of the votes in 1952 committed suicide at this election by splitting. From 11 members in 1946, it now only has three.

The split was not the only reason for this decline. Many people voted Communist because there was no other party they could support. If one looks through the results of the elections, one sees that all over the country the PSP took the place of the Communist Party. PSP is now the biggest of the small "left" parties in this country; in Amsterdam it got 5.6 per cent of the vote, in Haarlem 4.8 per cent, at the Hague 2.5 per cent—in some parts of Northern Holland it is now the second biggest Party.

This result is undoubtedly very healthy. Thousands of Dutch people do in fact want an honest and independent party that is not dictated to by foreign interests, however important they may be. It is these interests that generally corrupt men's attitudes. It is therefore an obligation on us to keep our principles without making concessions to even the largest majority. It will be no easy job.

For Britain pacifist MPs are nothing new

□ ON BACK PAGE

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THE offices of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland High Commission in London are to be picketed from 10.30 a.m. tomorrow (Sat.). Stewards with Movement for Colonial Freedom armbands will have poster boards for the pickets, who should meet outside Charing Cross Hospital at the junction of Agar Street and William IV Street, just off the Strand. Joining with them in a campaign for independence for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia and an end to Federation is the Committee of African Organisations.

Ian Page, of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, reports that about 100 people took part in a picket last Saturday, including individual members of the Labour Party, and Trade Unions, Co-operators, etc., and many students, particularly Africans. They paraded in pairs—African and European together—with posters, and went round and round the block. At the end they gathered together all with posters bearing such words as: "Release Banda," "End Federation," "Stop killing of Nyasaland Africans," and called for three cheers for Dr. Banda.

Rhodesia House was heavily guarded by police. When the demonstration was over there were heated arguments between White Rhodesians coming out of Rhodesia House and African participants in the demonstration.

## Fenner Brockway to reply tonight

Fenner Brockway, MP, told Peace News on Tuesday that he will reply to Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, at the big rally to be held in the Central Hall, London, today.

Sir Roy was reported as saying in Salisbury on Monday that he wanted an

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Christian Action is one of the latest bodies to appeal to its members to send a contingent.

Five trade unions are supporting the March, as are also the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers), Victory for Socialism, the London Co-operative Party, The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, the Labour Peace Fellowship. A Methodist Peace Fellowship contingent will carry their banner: "We say 'No' to War." Dr. Soper invites Methodists to march with him on Easter Monday.

Supporters coming from abroad include a Hamburg schoolteacher and member of the War Resisters' International, Hans Konrad Tempel.

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If you are marching from Aldermaston on Good Friday, joint in the Peace News sales campaign on the march. We need PN sellers in every contingent.

Copies of the enlarged Aldermaston number will be dispatched next Tuesday evening so that selling can begin on the coaches and trains as the crowds gather. Sale or return supplies for everyone—and a plastic cover to keep them dry.

Special posters are available, too, and will be sent free of charge to marchers. Easily mounted on strawboards, either mounted to 4 ft. poles or carried sandwich board fashion, they include such slogans as "Against All War Always," "For Direct Action Against Nuclear War," "No H-bombs for Britain," and "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament." Please send your name and address now for supplies by return post.

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## Appeal fund

At a meeting in London this week the Trustees of the African Development Trust met under the chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. Charles E. Raven (President of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation) and decided to instruct solicitors to take all the necessary steps to assist in the legal defence of all those from St. Faith's who have been detained without any charges being preferred against them and to ensure that the inter-racial work of St. Faith's will continue.

The High Commissioner for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has written to the Trust and explained that there is no present intention of preferring charges under the Regulations against Guy Clutton-Brock and the others and that it is unlikely that they will appear in court.

The Rev. Andrew Doig has agreed to act as Chairman of a Nyasaland local committee of the Africa Bureau's Central Africa Emergency Appeal Fund which has been set up to provide legal aid for those detained and to assist their dependents in cases of special hardship.

Mr. Doig recently resigned from the Central African Federal Parliament where he had served on the African Affairs Board as the European Member for African Interests, nominated by the Governor of Nyasaland.

Other local trustees will be appointed to serve with Mr. Doig.

## Briefly

apology from the British MP "for what has been said about me personally."

Fenner Brockway was among a Labour and Liberal Party deputation to the High Commissioner for Nyasaland and the Rhodesias which this week called for the release of Guy Clutton-Brock and others detained in Central Africa without trial.

The Atom Bomb Memorial Hospital in Hiroshima last Saturday listed the thirteenth victim this year of the Hiroshima bomb. Mrs. Komitsu Ishida died, there of acute leukaemia. She was two and a half miles from the blast centre in 1945.



# Before you turn away

ALAN LOVELL REVIEWS

Artist, Critic and Teacher, Joint Council for Education Through Art. 2s. 6d.

"FROM films, people—and not just young people—learn to value violence and various sophisticated techniques of using it. We learn that adultery is the prototype of the man-woman relationship. We learn that physical attractiveness and strength and the acquisition of luxury goods are the highest values of our civilisation. Television titivates us with trivialities of every kind, and even wisdom is brains trussed into handy little gobbets of truth. Controversy, the very life-blood of liberal democracy, is debased into the artificial banter of hired non-conformists."

This is how, in a recently published pamphlet "Artist, Critic and Teacher," an educationist describes the values that the Press, TV, cinema and entertainment industry propagate. Anybody who has once walked through Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square will know how accurate this description is.

Faced with this, many people have turned away from popular culture in disgust and retreated into traditional culture. There has thus grown up an opposition between traditional and popular culture—a high-brow, low-brow split.

But, as two other contributors to "Artist, Critic and Teacher" point out, important changes have taken place in the traditional arts. They have lost much of their importance. Lindsay Anderson says, "Art has become completely isolated from anything else in life. It has become an affair of good taste—to prove that we are better than the masses."

There has also been a change in the status of the serious artist, suggests John Berger. The artist has come to be regarded as somebody who is outside society, at the best a kind of magician, at the worst a charlatan.

The reasons for this change in the position of the artist and his work are not hard to find. Since the industrial revolution people have regarded any progress as good, any scientific discovery as being for the benefit of mankind. The artist is one of the few people who has refused to accept this. Through their work, artists, like Shelley and Ruskin, William Morris and D. H. Lawrence, have consistently tried to measure our society in terms of the effect it has on people.

Too often what they have said has had uncomfortable implications for us. So that we could avoid facing these implications, we

on judging change by the effect that it has on people now.

The whole distinction between popular art and traditional art is in any case a false one. There are serious artists at work in the cinema and there are charlatans at work in literature. The only valid distinction is between good art and bad art.

The central theme of this pamphlet is that the artist, the critic and the teacher, by accepting a mutual responsibility, can help to break down the false distinctions and help to establish the right ones. The artist can do this by insisting on the importance of his work, by refusing to work on projects that degrade his art; the critic by continually sifting the good from the bad; the teacher by helping his pupils to look critically at the world they live in.

But this is not only a problem for artists, critics and teachers; it is a problem for everybody who wants a decent healthy society. We are all responsible for the world we live in. One of the ways that we can acknowledge that responsibility is to read and ponder over the problems that this stimulating pamphlet raises.



I want to make people—ordinary people, not just Top People—feel their dignity and importance, so that they can act from these principles—Lindsay Anderson. Photo from the film "Every Day Except Christmas."

## JOBLESS VICTIMS OF THE AMERICAN MYTH

Sidney Lens, a Chicago Trade Union leader, writer, an Editor of the American independent monthly Liberation, and sponsor of the American Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, here contributes a second article on the significance of the American industrial scene for the peace worker. In particular, he examines the situation which has led to there being 4,500,000 unemployed in the USA—about one in every 14 in the labour force there.

FOR a number of months now the oracles of free enterprise in America have been beaming. Itold

Eleven major areas are so hard hit that at least one in eight workers is redundant. There are now 818,000 labourers who have exhausted unemployment compensation benefits and must depend on State relief. In certain parts of Kentucky miners have been out of work to such an extent that whole towns are subsisting on federal gifts of foodstuffs.

It would be pointless to compare the present situation with that of the 1930s. Unemployment then was four times as great and there were no cushions such as those of unemployment compensation or (before Roosevelt) direct relief. But

sick nation. Despite the bombast of Mr. Dulles on foreign policy, despite the "position-of-strength" nonsense peddled by the military, the leaders of the nation do not have the least idea where they are going—either internally or externally.

To accelerate economic growth the Government would have to devise a plan not only for social expenditures (for schools, low-cost housing, etc.), and for redistributing income through higher wage floors and through greater welfare benefits, but it would have to formulate a programme to help the under-developed nations rise to their feet. To do such things the



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Too often what they have said has had uncomfortable implications for us. So that we could avoid facing these implications, we have dismissed the artist as a mere day-dreamer and reduced art to an after-dinner entertainment. John Berger says, "The artist becomes a special case not because he has a special talent, but because he has a special kind of personality. He is thought of as the epitome of the man who is at odds with himself."

20 Nobody can be satisfied with this situation. We cannot just ignore the mass media; they are pumping out their values every day; they are helping to shape the world we live in. Nor can we be satisfied with the position of serious art. It is precisely because of our unthinking acceptance of progress that we need the artist's insistence

*"The value of Direct Action will immensely increase when the picture of a pacifist Britain becomes clear and vivid to a larger and larger number of people in Britain. The world is in supreme need of a non-violent revolution for*

- (1) making the countries under foreign domination free,
  - (2) replacing oppressive governments,
  - (3) avoiding a nuclear war,
  - (4) transforming the capitalist state into a socialist state, and
  - (5) spiritualising the Communist world.
- The emergence of a group of people seeking a non-violent world revolution at this hour can create confidence and enthusiasm in the minds of the people, and the moral influence of such a group will spread not merely in the capitalist world but also in the Communist world. Ideas . . . accomplish their own work; and Direct Action like the Swaffham demonstration for non-violence and peace is always welcome.”—The Common Life news letter, January-March, 1959.

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**F**OR a number of months now the oracles of free enterprise in America have been beaming I-told-you-sos to the public. We predicted, they say, that the recession would soon end, and it has. Production has recovered about three-quarters of the decline suffered in the downturn, and profits are rising relentlessly to new heights.

The oracles have shut their eyes to at least one disturbing speck on the horizon: unemployment. Of the 2.4 million jobs lost in 1957-58, only 700,000 have been recovered. In January there were 4.7 million jobless, about one of every 14 in the labour force. Percentage-wise the figure is twice as high as that of Britain, where, from what we can gather, the situation is none too rosy either. At the height of the cyclical decline last year there were 5.4 million out of work.

For a time it looked as if business and the jobless would make a recovery together. But beginning with November the pendulum swung the other way for the jobless. In December the increase in unemployment was twice the normal seasonal rise for that month. In January it jumped again by a whopping 616,000, 240,000 higher than in the January 1957 recession month. This time even the free enterprisers began to express some concern. David Lawrence, arch-conservative editor of US News and World Report, called it a "paradox of continued unemployment on a large scale during a period of steadily progressing recovery."

In certain places the situation is reminiscent of the 1930 depression era. Detroit, manufacturing hub of the automobile industry, has an unemployed roster of 13 per cent. In industrial Pennsylvania more than 10 per cent are out of work. In New Jersey the figure is 9.3 per cent.

Eleven major areas are so hard hit that at least one in eight workers is redundant. There are now 818,000 labourers who have exhausted unemployment compensation benefits and must depend on State relief. In certain parts of Kentucky miners have been out of work to such an extent that whole towns are subsisting on federal gifts of foodstuffs.

It would be pointless to compare the present situation with that of the 1930s. Unemployment then was four times as great and there were no cushions such as those of unemployment compensation or (before Roosevelt) direct relief. But there is a growing and an uneasy feeling that this time unemployment is here to stay; that even if recovery becomes complete there will still be this reservoir of jobless becoming somewhat larger from year to year.

The plain fact is the United States is prisoner of its own myths. The politicians have paid obeisance to "free enterprise" so long that they don't

realise that it has been dead for decades. They are willing to plan when it comes to missiles and war production. They are willing to have "socialism" when it comes to giving government grants to the large corporations. But they do not recognise the necessity of planning to solve the jobless problem.

The United States Government guarantees \$70,000,000,000 in loans for mortgages and a dozen other purposes. At one time it owned plants—mostly for the military—worth \$27,000,000,000. One of every six dollars spent in the country is spent by the federal regime. The nation plans in certain areas; but it refuses to do so in others. The results are apparent; in the last six years the rate of economic growth has averaged only 1.3 per cent—only one-seventh as great as that of Russia, and far lower than most Western European countries. This rate of increase hardly keeps up with population increases. Each year the labour force expands by 820,000; in the 1960s it will have increased by 1,250,000. But there is no long-term planning to absorb this force and to improve living and social standards.

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To accelerate economic growth the Government would have to devise a plan not only for social expenditures (for schools, low-cost housing, etc.), and for redistributing income through higher wage floors and through greater welfare benefits, but it would have to formulate a programme to help the under-developed nations rise to their feet. To do such things the Government probably would have to curb the power of the corporations, who together with the military, today dominate the nation. It might have to take over some big corporations in order to introduce competition.

As things stand now the big industries have no price competition worthy of mention. Prices in steel, cars, etc., are set by US Steel or General Motors, and they keep going up regardless of a decline in demand. A Congressional Committee recently was treated to the remarkable observation by an officer of Ford's that his company had to *raise* prices to keep in competition with General Motors.

Intoxication with the hollow term "free enterprise" makes it difficult to meet the realities of the time. We still have people on this side of the Atlantic who think "free enterprise," investments can industrialise the under-developed countries, even though the figures indicate that only a trickle of a few tens of millions each year are invested in industry by US companies in Asia and Africa. We still have nineteenth century minds who think that if the Government would only give business the incentive of lower taxes it would soon lift America from its doldrums. We still have economists who think that balanced budgets and stable prices are more important than jobs for the jobless.

America, perhaps because of its war-time and post-war prosperity, finds it more difficult than any other Western nation to learn the lessons of its own recent history: that capitalism, far from being a self-regulating mechanism that stabilises itself through the workings of the market, can no longer subsist without full-scale Government direction.



# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## Champion of the poor

**DANILO DOLCI, champion of the destitute people of Western Sicily, will be the subject of a BBC feature this Sunday, March 22. The broadcast will be on the Home Service at 9.15 p.m.**

The story of Dolci's life is one which demonstrates the power of the individual who cares and takes action. He is still only 35, but old enough to have been jailed during the war for refusing military training. First he refused combat training, then conscription for military service.

Abandoning his architectural studies, he joined a community, where he came to believe that the problems of poverty must be solved at their source, and not in isolation from the social life of Italian towns and villages.

This took him in 1952 to Trappeto, a Sicilian village which his father had described as the poorest place he had ever seen. There Danilo Dolci saw the poverty of the workless and landless, the malnutrition, dirt and misery that drove men to crime to support their families and then to banditry to avoid capture. He also met the Mafia, a powerful secret society for intimidating labour leaders and others, and witnessed the annual toll of assassinations.

Here Dolci begged and borrowed money to build a shelter for the destitute families and orphans of men who had become outlaws. Sometimes as many as 80 men joined him in work. The first to move in were a homeless couple whose child had died of starvation before his very eyes.

Unemployment remained chronic, and when his plans for irrigation (by damming the small Iato river) were rejected by the civil authorities, Dolci began to fast to emphasise that men's lives depended on the project. It was not until he was very weak and partially paralysed that a grant

for the work was promised. Gradually the people built two small hospitals, a pharmacy, sewers and roads.

Finding that the underlying causes of poverty were more concentrated in the larger towns of Sicily, Dolci then moved to Partinico, the centre of a bandit area.

It was here that the famous "reverse strike" was held by 700 workers under his leadership. To draw public attention to unemployment they started to repair a road which had been cut by a stream. They justified this under Article Four of the post-war Constitution, which affirms that "all citizens have the right to work and to promote conditions which render this right effective." The police broke up the work and Dolci faced a series of trials and sentences of imprisonment.

Then a year ago Dolci was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize, which he accepted with the following words:

"I really believe in the necessity for peace, that is, the non-violent struggle and revolution, pure in its methods and without compromise. . . . To shoot is an act of violence; but to deprive anyone of the possibility of awakening, of participating in life, is violence as well. . . . You walk in the ways of peace if you understand that peace cannot be created all of a sudden between the two blocs, but that one can get nearer to peace by trying to be more perfect and by actions so vital and creative as to produce reactions in the same direction."

Dolci follows in the Gandhi tradition. His constructive programme, his refusal to be provoked into violence, his non-cooperation with the authorities when they are upholding the status quo—these are all from the Gandhi programme. But note the significant point.

When Johan Galtung, of Oslo University, was in London for the War Resisters' International conference in 1957, he had recently visited Danilo Dolci. They had discussed his work—Dolci, the intense, practical man, and Galtung, the social scientist and author of "Gandhi's Political Ethics." Johann Galtung was impressed that Dolci knew very little of Gandhi when he started his work, and Dolci was surprised to be told how much of his programme and philosophy was Gandhian. He had arrived at it quite independently. Now, however, he knows much more about the Indian leader.

Communist-orientated British Peace Committee is giving the march its "full support." This is at first sight curious in view of the policy of the march: unilateral nuclear renunciation by Britain and all other Powers. The BPC is, of course, against unilateral disarmament, as that is not the Moscow line. In its current Broad-sheet, therefore, it ignores March policy and talks vaguely about "against the bomb" and "an end to nuclear arms."

These are no new Communist tactics. It was unlikely that the BPC leadership could ignore the greatest people's action in Britain two years running. Last year a few papers like the Sunday Times and the News Chronicle ran smear articles about the march, but no one was fooled, and it's hardly likely that such methods will have any more success this year.

## Tribute from Down Under

**IT is disappointing that only a bare announcement can usually be made in PN on the death of a war-resister. Behind the briefest of sentences there often lies a life-time of devoted work.**

Sometimes, however, when a friend is particularly well known, we manage to publish fuller obituary notices. Such was the case with the late Reginald Reynolds, and since we continue to receive testimonies to his life from all over the world, it is fitting to publish this one from Nelle Beck, of Christchurch, New Zealand, which we received a little while ago:

Having just received my Dec. 26 issue of PN, which comes by surface mail, I want you to know that New Zealand readers join with those who pay tribute to the memory of Reginald Reynolds. Like your writers, we find it hard to believe that the vital, fun-loving yet deeply earnest personality of R. R. has gone from us, just when near the New Zealand shores and we were looking forward to meeting him!

I felt suddenly shocked and heavy-hearted when told the news because Reginald was one I'd come to know and deeply appreciate through his books. How we've chuckled with him, shared his indignation, and followed his journeyings which, in a spiritual sense, were always heading towards the truth. For in his own delightful and unorthodox way he was all for the "life more abundantly" Jesus said he came to give.



**BBC recall  
the Italian  
non-violent  
revolutionary**  
*See "Champion  
of the poor."*

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## Actors and writers urge TV for Wales

To the Editor.

**WE** wish to draw your attention to the lack of an adequate television service for Wales. The few weekly hours of programmes emanating from Wales are pitifully insufficient to reflect and express the life of so lively a nation as the Welsh on this important medium.

Apart from the severe restriction on Welsh programmes in the English language there is never a programme in the Welsh language after 5 p.m., when most people are at home to see it. The consequence is that the programmes seen by the Welsh-speaking population are entirely in the English language. The consequences of this for a language fighting for its existence are dire.

The decision to establish a Welsh service depends in the first place not upon the co-operation of the BBC and the Independent companies, but upon the Government. It is in this sense a political matter. It is significant that the request for an Independent Welsh channel is supported by the Welsh Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons.

The question is one of the greatest urgency for Wales, and we earnestly appeal to the Government to declare its readiness to release a channel for Wales at once. A channel that would be used not solely for Wales to express itself in the Welsh language, but also let it be stressed for that vital section of Welsh life which expresses itself in the English language. Delay is doing grave injury. No doubt the BBC and an Independent company or companies will quickly produce a scheme which will enable them to share this facility.

We, the undersigned, wish to add our names to those of Emlyn Williams, Richard Burton, Hugh David, Meredith Edwards, Clifford Evans, Miss Sian Phillips and the late Gareth Jones, who, in a statement to

## GREAT EXPECTATIONS

**ONE** of London's evening papers carries a paragraph called "Incidental Intelligence," which recently recorded a reply of a wife to her husband who was complaining that she always spent more





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## GREAT EXPECTATIONS

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"But," said the wife, "that is how I show my confidence in you. I always expect you to earn more."

Much the same might be said about the Peace Pledge Union, which always seems to be spending more than the yearly estimate of income provides. It is certainly true at this time of the year when to the regular expenses have to be added additional amounts in connection with the elections, the AGM, and the annual appeal.

The appeal, which will be sent to all members before the end of March, indicates the special need this year not only of increasing our annual income but of providing for the additional expenditure which has become necessary on Dick Sheppard House. The annual appeal is therefore a special one to which it is hoped every member will make a ready and generous response.

The appeal for PPU Headquarters Fund is a fortnightly one indicating the need of regular income to maintain our regular work. That the aim for 1959 is £1,250 is a measure of confidence in the readers of the appeal to give even more generously than previously. That such confidence is justified is shown by the fact that during the past 24 hours another cheque for £50 has been received in addition to two cheques for £10, one of which was specially intended to encourage 100 other readers to give £5 apiece. What will you do in response?

**STUART MORRIS,**  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.  
Amount received to date: £293.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



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When Johan Galtung, of Oslo University, was in London for the War Resisters' International conference in 1957, he had recently visited Danilo Dolci. They had discussed his work—Dolci, the intense, practical man, and Galtung, the social scientist and author of "Gandhi's Political Ethics." Johann Galtung was impressed that Dolci knew very little of Gandhi when he started his work, and Dolci was surprised to be told how much of his programme and philosophy was Gandhian. He had arrived at it quite independently. Now, however, he knows much more about the Indian leader.

Dolci's work continues in Sicily and several committees have been established in foreign lands to assist him. The British committee is sponsoring a team in South-West Sicily, and will welcome support and enquiries to the Danilo Dolci Committee, c/o United World Trust, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

## Sore feet—glad heart

THE Easter tramp from Aldermaston to London this year is evidently going to attract a wider cross-section of marchers than last time.

Quakers, whose Peace Committee did not back last year's march, are rallying from all over the country.

It is interesting to note also that the

operation with the authorities who are upholding the status quo—these are all from the Gandhi programme. But note the significant point. When Johan Galtung, of Oslo University, was in London for the War Resisters' International conference in 1957, he had recently visited Danilo Dolci. They had discussed his work—Dolci, the intense, practical man, and Galtung, the social scientist and author of "Gandhi's Political Ethics." Johann Galtung was impressed that Dolci knew very little of Gandhi when he started his work, and Dolci was surprised to be told how much of his programme and philosophy was Gandhian. He had arrived at it quite independently. Now, however, he knows much more about the Indian leader.

I felt suddenly shocked and heavy-hearted when told the news because Reginald was one I'd come to know and deeply appreciate through his books. How we've chuckled with him, shared his indignation, and followed his journeyings which, in a spiritual sense, were always heading towards the truth. For in his own delightful and unorthodox way he was all for the "life more abundantly" Jesus said he came to give.

We deeply sympathise with Ethel Mannin who, in her book about Burma, drew the reader near when she expressed a feeling of loneliness in a situation there. Be sure our thoughts are with her now.

Somehow my mind turns to Walt Whitman's lines at the close of his poem "To him that was crucified."

*... journeying up and down till we make our ineffaceable mark upon time and the diverse eras.*

*Till we saturate time and eras, that the men and women of races, ages to come, may prove brethren and lovers as we are.*

R. R. kept pace with these.—**NELLE BECK, 105 St. Martins Rd., Christchurch, New Zealand.**

—Phyz



A study of rapt attention—delegates at the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's first national conference held in London recently.

of Commons. The question is one of the greatest urgency for Wales, and we earnestly appeal to the Government to declare its readiness to release a channel for Wales at once. A channel that would be used not solely for Wales to express itself in the Welsh language, but also let it be stressed for that vital section of Welsh life which expresses itself in the English language. Delay is doing grave injury. No doubt the BBC and an Independent company or companies will quickly produce a scheme which will enable them to share this facility.

We, the undersigned, wish to add our names to those of Emyln Williams, Richard Burton, Hugh David, Meredith Edwards, Clifford Evans, Miss Sian Phillips and the late Gareth Jones, who, in a statement to the Press last November, urged that Wales should have its own Television Service.—**Robert Atkins, Stanley Baker, Sir Lewis Casson, Gwen Ffranccon-Davies, Christopher Fry, Hugh Griffith, Donald Houston, Griffith Jones, Ronald Lewis, Richard Llewellyn, John Osborne, Donald Peers, Harry Secombe, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Richard Vaughan, Hugh Williams.**

## Michael Tippet for PPU conference

BRISTOL'S new Civic Centre is to be the venue for this year's Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union. All the sessions are to be held in The Bristowe, the new civic restaurant which adjoins the Council House. The AGM, which opens on Saturday, April 18, at 2 p.m., will close on the Sunday with an Open Forum, to which the public are invited. The team will include Michael Tippet, Will Coldrick, MP, and Stuart Morris, who will answer questions on international problems, with Sybil Morrison in the Chair.

In his Annual Report, the General Secretary, Stuart Morris, remind members that pacifism is no longer being regarded as starry-eyed idealism. He points out that it is significant, as marking a real advance, that during 1958 the Prime Minister "has more than once said, and an official document of the Labour Party has stated, that the only alternative to the policy which each advocates is the policy of unilateral disarmament as advocated by pacifists."

Members who wish to attend the AGM may obtain tickets (price 2s. 6d.) and full information—which includes a copy of the 36-page report and agenda—from the General Secretary, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



# PEACE NEWS

## The International Pacifist Weekly

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## You and Central Africa

**WE** go to work at 8 a.m. and come home at 5.30 p.m.;

we have three decent meals a day; we occasionally go to the cinema or the theatre; we are on the right side politically and are prepared to organise and take part in any protests or demonstrations that are necessary.

We feel we are behaving as mature responsible human beings. And when the crisis in Central Africa takes place we continue to behave in that way.

Then one night we read in the newspaper that several more Africans have been killed, that several more have been put into prison camps and that some have complained of being brutally treated. Suddenly the gap between our comfortable well-ordered lives and the lives of the Africans become apparent.

For a moment we are horrified. We are not taking the risk of being killed or even of being imprisoned. Our protests, our meetings, our demonstrations seem futile. They do not have any real impact on the situation. We are inclined to despair.

**WHAT** can we do about Central Africa that will be meaningful, that will reduce the gap between our lives and those of the Africans?

The first thing is to learn from our mistakes. It should not have taken an outbreak of violence to rouse us about Central Africa. There has always been a crisis in the Federation. The treatment of the Africans has always been an affront to every principle of human decency. If we had organised our campaigns, our meetings, some time ago, this particular crisis might never have occurred. In any case, people in this country would have been better prepared to meet the situation.

Our campaign must not become obsessed with political power in the conventional sense. All our attention must not be turned to Parliament. The only completely effective way to prevent British Governments from behaving in the way that is natural to them in the Colonies is to make sure that the people of this country want them to act in a different way. At the moment most people are either actively in favour of the Government's

## Berlin: war . . .

**I**N none of the three countries directly concerned—USA, France and West Germany—has the first reaction to Mr. Macmillan's Moscow journey been what might have been hoped for. Officially, both Washington and Paris were plainly on the reserve, but newspaper comment was less inhibited. There were a number of references to Mr. Dulles' absence owing to illness, of which the British Prime Minister was more or less openly accused to have taken undue advantage. Less importance seems to have been attached to the end purpose of the Macmillan journey than to the possibility of Britain playing a leading rôle in negotiations with the Soviets.

In Germany's case, as personified by the Bonn Government, it was not merely a question of indifference to the end result but one of actual hostility to it. For whereas Paris had little to say about Chancellor Adenauer's visit to President de Gaulle, the West German State Secretary von Eckhardt declared, practically coinciding with Macmillan's return from Russia, that Chancellor Adenauer, President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Debré were unanimous in the opinion that there should be no thinning out of troops in Middle Europe—in other words, they were against any measures of disengagement.

Since then, we have had the decidedly vague German statement that Mr. Macmillan's Bonn conversations with Chancellor Adenauer had ended in perfect agreement "in principle" on the attitude to be taken regarding Berlin, and The Times' far more cautious report on the same subject, saying in fact precious little. Even that little contains one sentence that is not without significance: "Whether a satisfactory agreement on Berlin could be traded for military thinning out," writes the paper, "is a question which remains carefully unanswered."

There have also been two declarations, from Mr. Khrushchov and President Eisenhower respectively, neither of which is very reassuring. Mr. Khrushchov has announced that Moscow will conclude a peace treaty with East Germany, whatever the West may do or not do. This means that, if no general peace negotiations with both Germanys result from the Kremlin's efforts in that direction, there will be no escape from the red-hot danger of East German officials or troops taking over rights and duties at present carried out by Russians around Berlin—with the greatly increased risk of clashes.

And President Eisenhower, after having already said that the United States would "not give an inch" in the matter of Berlin, caused a minor sensation in his press conference on March 11 by declaring that the United States "will certainly not fight a ground war in Europe," which can only mean that any fighting they might do there would be by nuclear weapons. In answer to a further question he replied that "he did not think much" of Mr. Khrushchov's latest

## Revolt and friction

**T**HOUGH more than a week has passed since the beginning of the attempted overthrow of the Kassem regime in Iraq, no reliable information is yet obtainable about the true origin of the revolt. Bagdad accuses President Nasser of having instigated it, and Nasser has lent colour to the accusation by his fierce denunciations of Brigadier Kassem as a Communist working against Arab nationalism.

A second school of thought denies Nasser's guilt emphatically. It points out that he has always displayed patience and a good sense of timing in his ventures; that he was not in a hurry about the union with Syria and would certainly not have risked any premature action in Iraq. The future will (perhaps!) show which of the two contentions is right.

The immediate result of the abortive revolt is embarrassment for Cairo and Moscow. Hitherto President Nasser has always managed to distribute praise and blame pretty equally between the West and the Soviets. Driven to discover original sin in Brigadier Kassem, the only course open to him—at least the only one of which he could apparently think—was to charge him with "Communist terrorism" and disloyalty to Arab nationalism. But the cost of this is to make it harder for him to remain on good enough terms with the Kremlin for the continuance of his course of independence between the two world alignments.

Moscow's plight is not much better. The Soviets have always posed, and must continue to pose, as the great upholders and friends of Arab independence and unity. How are they to manage that, when President Nasser, the most prominent of Arab leaders, lets hardly a day pass without heaping abuse on another Arab leader, and that abuse always takes the form of calling him a Communist?

He ought to remember that he has himself been keen enough to accept Soviet economic and other aid in the past, and may need it again.

## Against the Bomb

**T**WO further contributions appeared in the Press last week to the discussion about the proposed "Voters' Veto"—the policy of supporting only those candidates who will vote against the Bomb in the House of Commons.

The first comment was from the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, who, writing in Tribune, urged Campaigners against nuclear weapons to vote Labour. He started with a lengthy statement of the necessity for com-

IN PERSPECTIVE



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Our campaign must not become obsessed with political power in the conventional sense. All our attention must not be turned to Parliament. The only completely effective way to prevent British Governments from behaving in the way that is natural to them in the Colonies is to make sure that the people of this country want them to act in a different way. At the moment most people are either actively in favour of the Government's attitude to Central Africa or passive supporters of it. They must be made aware of conditions in the Federation, of the wages that Africans earn, of the way the whites treat them, of the complete lack of opportunities for them.

By doing this we are not avoiding the problem of immediate political action. Any politician who knows that more and more people are becoming concerned about the colonies will think twice before he supports white settlers, or votes for sending troops to their aid.

★ ★  
**WE** must never forget whose side we are on. It is very possible that if the repression in the Federation continued, with more Africans being imprisoned each day, a situation will develop that is comparable to Mau-Mau. Then many decent liberal people will talk about the need to restore law and order before the claims of the Africans can be met.

In a situation of this kind we must oppose the sending of troops just as strongly as we did in seemingly simpler situations like the Suez adventure. Even if we accept that Mau Mau or a possible equivalent to it in Central Africa is as it is usually described (this is very doubtful), we must make it clear that the real culprits are the whites. We are not going to save them by killing Africans, even if the Africans are described as savage terrorists. The settlers in the Central African Federation HAVE made their bed, and they MUST lie on it.

★ ★  
**CENTRAL AFRICA** is no isolated incident. There has been a permanent colonial crisis ever since 1945. Colonial crises are an inevitable part of our system. It is not enough merely to attack particular results of that system. The system itself must be brought to an end.

To do this we need to understand how the system works. Action needs to be supplemented by thought. When we have done this we shall be in a position to make a real attack on colonialism. We shall be somewhere near bridging the gap between our lives and the lives of the Africans, nearer to making human brotherhood a reality.

member of which is very reassuring. Mr. Khrushchev has announced that Moscow will conclude a peace treaty with East Germany, whatever the West may do or not do. This means that, if no general peace negotiations with both Germanys result from the Kremlin's efforts in that direction, there will be no escape from the red-hot danger of East German officials or troops taking over rights and duties at present carried out by Russians around Berlin—with the greatly increased risk of clashes.

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## ... or UN peace

IN view of the thus admitted fact that a military struggle about Berlin would now become a nuclear war, it is not only those directly implicated but all the world that has a legitimate interest in the Berlin question, so that the uncommitted countries' impressions and opinion are becoming a matter of importance. What they see is this:

One country—Russia—trying to put an end to the situation in which the wartime allies are still in law and theory—in ridiculous contrast with fact—at war with Germany; the same country having constantly pressed for a Summit meeting and having, since last November, particularly stressed the importance of the Berlin issue; having made a number of modified proposals and suggestions, and quite obviously doing all it can to induce the others to negotiate.

On the other side, the West's, they see people who, up to the Macmillan Moscow journey, have been entirely negative and are still negative as far as actual proposals are concerned. It is high time this were changed, and in this respect a long article by Salvador de Madariaga in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung of March 8 is of interest. The article itself is wholly and almost violently anti-Russian. But it concludes with the suggestion that a larger area around Berlin than envisaged by Moscow should become United Nations territory; and that, apart from the United Nations guarantee for its integrity, it should be garrisoned by United Nations troops from which members of the great powers would be excluded. Whether the Russians would accept this or not is of course uncertain. But it would at least be a counter proposal.

President Eisenhower's Monday evening broadcast, the text of which is coming to hand as these lines go to the printer, is a reasonable enough statement of the Western position. But it is still full of things the West will not or cannot do, and totally empty of positive proposals.

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He ought to remember that he has himself been keen enough to accept Soviet economic and other aid in the past, and may need it again.

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The first comment was from the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, who, writing in Tribune, urged Campaigners against nuclear weapons to vote Labour. He started with a lengthy statement of the necessity for compromise in "the world of politics"—a factor which no one can ignore—and sets against it his pacifism.

"How can this attitude to violence be put into effect and so come to life?" Dr. Soper asks. His reply is "through political action"—by supporting the Party wherein this final objective can be reached, the "fitting medium for the achievement of the aims of the campaign against nuclear weapons."

Dr. Soper, and those whose views he represents, must do one of two things. Remembering that the Party is already *emphasising* in its election manifesto its rejection of nuclear disarmament, they must show how a future Labour Government, elected with a mandate for retaining H-bombs and faced with a pro-nuclear Opposition, can be effectively challenged to renounce these weapons.

Or else they must show that Campaigners against these terrible policies have been mistaken—that the Bomb is not the supreme issue that faces mankind, and all that is needed is a little bit of enlightened Labour statesmanship and it does not matter that the Bomb is retained. In a phrase, that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is a misnomer, and should have been named the Unofficial Labour Foreign Policy Study Group.

But when one supports a blanket vote for a Big-Bomb policy in the hopes of ushering in conditions for *renouncing* the Bomb, how hopeful can one get?

The second contribution to this discussion was from "Critic" of the New Statesman. In just 12 lines he brushed aside the Voters' Veto on the grounds that the current by-election in S.W. Norfolk had just thrown up a Right-wing Independent candidate who had decided to reverse his policy and stand for nuclear disarmament.

The fact that this candidate only a fortnight previously had been ranting about "national honour" and advocating dropping nuclear bombs on US forces in Britain—this is apparently of no importance. All that matters, regardless of Bomb-policy, is that one should vote Labour! "Critic's" remarks are not worthy of comment, except to show that blind Party loyalty is going to be the greatest challenge to the Campaign this year.



# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Votes and the Bomb

YOU have disposed effectually of Benn Levy's violent exercise in double-think, by which he tries to show that the cause of nuclear disarmament may best be aided by sending pro-Bomb candidates into Parliament. I would like to add two comments.

Mr. Levy looks forward to a "full-scale insurrection of MPs in the House of Commons" against the official Labour Party policy. Does he seriously expect that his colleagues who enter the House committed to the manufacture of nuclear bombs are likely to rebel? Surely the prospects of insurrection depend upon the presence in Parliament of a solid group of anti-Bomb members! Our aim, therefore, should be to secure the return of the maximum number of anti-Bomb members and to exclude the pro-Bombers.

Mr. Levy's reference to the record of himself, Michael Foot and others who, he claims, have revealed independence throughout their political lives, invites a reminder. When Mr. Attlee agreed with President Truman to drop the bomb on Hiroshima and to continue the manufacture of the bomb after noting its achievements, did Mr. Levy or his colleagues protest? When, from 1945 to 1951, the Labour Government, year after year, produced budgets providing finance for atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, did those gentlemen vote against those budgets? No! At the crack of the whip they came to heel and did their bit to set the foreign policy of this country on the catastrophic course it has since pursued. The confidence trick can be tried once too often.

Finally, I am aware that it is not "quite nice" to mention morals in discussion with party politicians, but perhaps Peace News may allow me to point out that Mr. Levy and his associates have carefully avoided any reference to the moral aspect of this problem. As an old-fashioned person, I believe that an elector who, by his vote, helps to send a pro-Bomb candidate into Parliament, is himself taking part in the production of nuclear bombs, and thereby makes himself responsible for the slaughter which may result from the use of those bombs. Each to his conscience, but I personally could not accept the responsibility

of contributing to a multiplication of the horrors of Hiroshima by giving a vote to any pro-Bomb candidate.—F. O'HANLON, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.

From the Rev. Hampden N. Horne, prospective Labour candidate for Saffron Walden, Essex.

IN your reply to Mr. Levy you say, "Every one of Mr. Levy's colleagues who will contest a constituency in the coming election will have given an undertaking that he will 'toe the Party line' according to the discipline imposed by the Party, and this undertaking will cover the question of the Party's attitude on the H-bomb." The plain intention of this statement is to suggest that every Labour candidate, if elected, would have to support the Party's policy on the H-bomb. You know that this is untrue, and, to my mind, the statement as it stands is scandalously dishonest.

The Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Party allow any member, on genuine grounds of conscience, to abstain from voting with the Party.

You appear to be among those who say that members ought to vote against their Party, but you do not face the issue squarely. If their vote against the Party is such that it cannot defeat the Party, it is nothing more than a demonstration and is of no greater significance than is abstaining from voting. If the votes are cast in a situation where they will ensure the defeat of the Party, what has been accomplished? The opening of the way to another Conservative Government.

One would have thought that the record of Suez, Cyprus, Malta and Nyasaland might have caused the most hardened pacifist to pause before helping such a government back to power, but apparently this is not so. Essential as it is to have decided what you will do or not do about weapons of war, it is equally essential to give some considered thought to policies which would either increase or lessen the probability of an outbreak of war. That is, if one is genuinely concerned about establishing peace in the world.—H. N. HORNE, Assington, Suffolk.

The Labour Party discipline is designed to prevent Labour MPs from effectively challenging the Party line, as Mr. Horne's own example shows.

We have explained that mere abstention

The use of the word "parties" which Mr. Levy attacks is no more or less disingenuous than the use of the word "parties" in the CND policy statement. The issue of "helping the Campaign" by the return of the Labour Party as at present constituted has been dealt with by Mr. Lovell and myself and others many times, and answered. I might with better cause complain that Mr. Levy has not answered my statement that the Gaitskell-Bevan oligarchy are the principal enemies of nuclear disarmament.

It is ironical that you had to cut my last letter to give, in fairness, more space to the opposite view, as one section answered some of Mr. Levy's erroneous statements. We have all accepted for the purposes of argument that the Labour Party might lose the election which it would otherwise win by our refusing to vote for H-bombing candidates. We say that even if this be so, it does not alter the validity of our case. But Mr. Levy is not being accurate when he says that this is a matter of certainty, because it is not certain that Labour would win even if a single vote were not withheld or if the words "Voters' Veto" had never been used. Look at the Gallup polls.

As regards making nuclear disarmament the principal issue at the election, "No votes for the Bomb" is doing just that; not the Executive of the Campaign. You can't make it the principal issue when you are engaging in Labour propaganda and all the time assuring the Labour candidate of your vote regardless of his policy on the Bomb, of his tame acceptance of the Gaitskell whip.

Regarding "bringing the campaign to impotence at the critical moment." This is a critical moment, and, whether consciously or otherwise, the CND Executive are doing precisely that by adopting straight Gaitskell-Bevan propaganda for the duration of the election: "Keep the Bomb and trust Bevan rather than Macmillan."

This issue hasn't just been raised by Voters' Veto. It has always existed, and I pointed it out months ago in a letter to Tribune to which again the "chopper" was applied to avoid "controversy." But it wasn't avoiding controversy, because this was bound to come up; it is vital and it is only delaying it and reducing the time in which we could call upon 75 per cent of the Labour Party constituencies, who state they support CND, to put up straight candidates with a clean record on the Bomb.

As Sybil Morrison so successfully says, "It is not the hydrogen bomb which threatens war, but war that threatens us with the hydrogen bomb"; and it seems to me that, as pacifists, we should draw the line against politicians who support war of any description no later than at the polling booth itself.

Contrary to E. M. Robinson's supposition, there exists a PPU group of pledged pacifists (within 50 miles of his own home town) who are members of the Conservative Party. I was assured that they never hesitated to put embarrassing questions to Conservative candidates. Liberal and Labour Party members should do no less.

I trust that readers will remember that the present panic about the marginal seat value of the pacifists' vote arises not from a concern for people, but from an urgent concern for power which would be used by Labour to pursue a foreign policy fundamentally no different from that of the Conservatives.

Readers tempted to support some conscientious part-time objector candidate because half a loaf is better than no bread might equally well ponder whether half a watch is better than no watch.—SAM WALSH, Torrington, Devon.

## 'What about 1994'

OH, dear! Wilfred Wellock is so pessimistic in Peace News, March 13. Surely we can have more faith in the intelligence and integrity of the British people ("the economic massmen," as Wellock describes them). If not, then we might as well disband the PPU and join local "ping-pong" clubs.

As an industrial Public Relations Officer and an active pacifist, I see no contradiction between the drive for higher living standards and the drive for a war-free world. Rather than acting as an obstacle to world peace, well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed families are a greater insurance against war than families living in unemployment and poverty. Wellock seems to glamourise the pre-1914 era for "its esteemed moral standards and restraints," but I cannot imagine any frantic flag-waving crowds outside Buckingham Palace on the outbreak of World War III.

Improved material conditions, too, have made us more humanitarian by stimulating a continually widening interest in art, music, literature and other important cultural pursuits. True, great progress has still



can be tried once too often.

Finally, I am aware that it is not "quite nice" to mention morals in discussion with party politicians, but perhaps Peace News may allow me to point out that Mr. Levy and his associates have carefully avoided any reference to the moral aspect of this problem. As an old-fashioned person, I believe that an elector who, by his vote, helps to send a pro-Bomb candidate into Parliament, is himself taking part in the production of nuclear bombs, and thereby makes himself responsible for the slaughter which may result from the use of those bombs. Each to his conscience, but I personally could not accept the responsibility

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*The Labour Party discipline is designed to prevent Labour MPs from effectively challenging the Party line, as Mr. Horne's own example shows.*

*We have explained that mere abstention from voting is not an effective challenge, and therefore that voting against a policy is important. We do not encourage people to be pacifists only if they are a majority. Or would Mr. Horne say that conscientious objection by a minority "is nothing more than a demonstration"?*

*We have recognised that the operation of a successful Voters' Veto could ensure either a change of Labour Policy or the continuation of Conservative rule. But we are arguing that an effective and genuine opposition to nuclear policies is more important than the difference between Tory and Labour policy.*

*Mr. Horne will have seen the discussion of differences between Labour and Tory on the colonial policies which he mentions, and we have already stated our belief that the issue of extinction is the greatest which man has ever faced. In the next five years it will affect the people of Africa also. We might add that one's confidence in those who profess a regard for civil liberties in Africa is naturally undermined by their willingness to destroy millions of civilians if their arms policy comes to fruition.*

*If Mr. Horne is saying that Labour will make less of a mess of the world by retaining H-bombs than the Tories will, that is not how we approach politics.—(Ed.)*

**I** THINK that Mr. Levy's complaint that you did not deal with his letter to another journal fully enough in your issue of Feb. 27 is a little misplaced when one considers that the paper in question did not publish replies to him from Mr. Randle, myself and others—only a brief letter from Messrs Craft and Crampton. In fact, all the points raised by Mr. Levy had already been dealt with in Alan Lovell's article "Should Labour have my Vote?" in PN, Feb. 20, and I have seen no answer to any of those arguments, certainly not in Levy's invective and abuse.

This is a critical moment, and, whether consciously or otherwise, the CND Executive are doing precisely that by adopting straight Gaitskell-Bevan propaganda for the duration of the election: "Keep the Bomb and trust Bevan rather than Macmillan."

This issue hasn't just been raised by Voters' Veto. It has always existed, and I pointed it out months ago in a letter to Tribune to which again the "chopper" was applied to avoid "controversy." But it wasn't avoiding controversy, because this was bound to come up; it is vital and it is only delaying it and reducing the time in which we could call upon 75 per cent of the Labour Party constituencies, who state they support CND, to put up straight candidates with a clean record on the Bomb.

It is not Labour or Tory Party members who decide elections. The majority of the electors belong to no party. It is not the CND Executive who created the campaign against the Bomb. That campaign arose because of the feeling of thousands of people throughout the country thinking individually about this matter, and deciding the Bomb was wrong. They are right not to vote for H-bombing candidates and must be encouraged.

We must have a sense of urgency. We can't give the Labour Party Executive which started the A-bomb here 13 years ago another 13 years to change its mind. Time is too short. We have to use "no votes for the bomb" because at election time it's all we can do. We must use it with courage against the heavily armed Labour executive machine and its branch on the CND Executive, and we must not let ourselves be intimidated by threats and invective. This non-violent fight is no less vital than Swaffham, and it has to be won.—**L. PHILLIPS, 31 Gorst Rd., Battersea, S.W.11.**

**M**Y wife and I vote against the Conservative Party rather than for the Labour Party in every election. Despite Voters' Veto we will do the same next time. If the Conservatives get in the Constitution of the Central African Federation will be confirmed and the Africans more or less enslaved. It is therefore vital to get the Conservatives out.—**KENNETH AKERS, 73 Plum Lane, London, S.E.18.**

**W**HILE I have no doubt that Stuart Morris and A. G. Higgins are right in saying that Peace News cannot claim specific Peace Pledge Union warrant for advocating Voters' Veto, I feel sure that it has general warrant to challenge the politicians at any and every point of their departure from the principles and practice of what we term pacifism.

As an industrial Relations Officer and an active pacifist, I see no contradiction between the drive for higher living standards and the drive for a war-free world. Rather than acting as an obstacle to world peace, well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed families are a greater insurance against war than families living in unemployment and poverty. Wellock seems to glamourise the pre-1914 era for "its esteemed moral standards and restraints," but I cannot imagine any frantic flag-waving crowds outside Buckingham Palace on the outbreak of World War III.

Improved material conditions, too, have made us more humanitarian—by stimulating a continually widening interest in art, music, literature and other important cultural pursuits. True, great progress has still to be made, but at least we are advancing towards, not retreating from, a saner world.

Wellock asks: "How do pacifists propose to win over Mrs. Jones, her friend, Mrs. Brown, and the economic massmen?"

There are two major ways:

- (1) By learning to use the mass communication media—Press, radio, television, news reels, etc.—in the same way as our opponents. Despite financial and other limitations, I believe this can be done, as witnessed by the Aldermaston and Swaffham demonstrations.


- (2) By developing personal contacts. Despite the growth in the techniques of mass persuasion, the most powerful impact of all—as big advertisers themselves are beginning to realise—is created by the individual approach. A friendly word with Mrs. Jones or Mrs. Brown will achieve far more than a Beaverbrook editorial or a television talk.

Most people are sick and tired of war, but they still regard it as an evil necessity. We have to show them the way forward by stressing spiritual values, but not by throwing up our hands in horror at material progress.—**PETER I. JENNER, 48 Chamberlain Way, Pinner, Middlesex.**

*Sybil Morrison asks us to point out that the letter published last week was not written in her capacity as Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.*

*The Conference photo on page three is by Roger Rawlinson, ARPS, the lone marcher who introduces the Aldermaston march film now showing at the Academy Cinema, London.*

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# THE CASE OF MAJOR WALTER REDER

JUDGING from the output of printed matter produced to satisfy it, the interest of the general public in the administration of justice would seem to be mainly directed to cases in which justice stumbled or strayed or in which it can be plausibly maintained that this happened.

The apparently unflagging public interest in such cases as that of those amiable Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, of Oscar Slater, of the romantic Mrs. Edith Thompson, and of the feckless Evans, may be accepted as evidence of a widespread love of abstract justice, but from a practical point of view this interest is clearly rather futile since these victims of injustice or alleged injustice are dead so that rectification has become impossible.

This persisting interest in alleged miscarriages of justice in which nothing can be done to set matters right gives ground however for the hope that an urgent demand for rectification will follow the publication of the facts of an indisputable miscarriage of justice which for fourteen years has been awaiting redress.

Redress in the case of Major Walter Reder is a simple matter since the victim is still serving his sentence of life imprisonment for a chance association of his name with an entirely fictional wartime propaganda atrocity.

## **Fictitious massacre**

This atrocity, long forgotten by the British and American publics, was once widely publicised for propaganda purposes as the Massacre of Marzabotto. According to the story, in the early autumn of 1944, German troops in Italy suddenly took it into their heads to attack a little town in the Apennines behind their front named Marzabotto and to massacre its innocent inhabitants, according to the most popular versions of the incident by shutting them in a church and then setting it on fire. Details varied widely, but the general allegation was that at Marzabotto German troops behaved in much the same way as it is alleged they behaved at Oradour in France or at Lidice in Bohemia or as General de Castries' Moroccans behaved in Freudensadt in the Black Forest a week before the end of the war.

It is now indisputable that the Marzabotto Massacre is a complete fiction. No

By F. J. P. Veale

Author of "Advance to Barbarism."

Italy during the Second World War, makes no mention of any massacre at Marzabotto. Major Reder was not charged with participation in any such crime at his trial at Bologna in 1951.

It happened that in 1952 the present writer was instructed by Major Reder's legal advisers to do his best to obtain affidavits from two British officers who had interrogated Reder when he was in British custody. By this chance he came to learn the real facts of the case\* which proved to be totally unconnected with a massacre at Marzabotto or at anywhere else.

The main outline of the facts relating to the conviction of Major Reder as a "war criminal," as established by evidence at his trial, are not seriously in dispute and can be very briefly summarised.

## **Major 'Lupo'**

During the campaigns in Russia in 1941, 1942 and 1943, Walter Reder greatly distinguished himself as an officer of front line storm troops, was several times seriously wounded, and was awarded the highest decorations for valour. In May, 1944, he was promoted to major and transferred with his unit to the Italian front then being subjected to continuous attacks by numerically superior forces enjoying complete supremacy in the air and undisputed command of the sea.

In June he distinguished himself in the desperate fighting at Cecina in which fighting the division to which he belonged, the 16th Panzer Division, was singled out for special praise by Field Marshal Lord Alexander for "the skill and fanaticism" of its resistance. During the summer and early autumn of that year he took part in the defence of the Gothic Line running along the ridge of the Apennines. He was transferred from Italy to Hungary early in 1945.

Throughout this heavy fighting from May to October, 1944, there was ever-increasing activity behind the German lines by bands of Italian partisans. This, however, was in general dealt with by the Italian Black Shirt Militia and the German security police. It was a ferocious struggle in which neither side took prisoners. In this struggle Major Reder and his front line troops took no part with the single exception of a particularly formidable commando of Communist partisans

before the attack on the Red Star Brigade, Reder had given his men a pep-talk in which he said that any civilian with arms resisting capture was to be summarily shot. Reder at his trial denied giving any such pep-talk and Legoli was not called to give evidence in the witness box. The court accepted his statement at its face value following the novel precedent established at the Nuremberg trials.

An effort should here be made to view the case of Major Reder as it appeared to the members of the Italian military tribunal before which his trial took place.

All the members of the tribunal had of course heard of the celebrated Massacre of Marzabotto. We may feel sure that if the tribunal had thought him guilty of this or any other enormity they would without hesitation have sentenced him to death. Possibly to the surprise of the tribunal the prosecution had nothing to say about this massacre, nor in fact produced any evidence of any massacre, and no doubt the tribunal did their best to dismiss this subject from their minds. It would, however, have been hardly possible for them to have done so entirely since throughout the trial furious Communist mobs demonstrated outside the court house demanding the life of the "Fascist monster," who had burnt alive all those innocent people in a church.

As professional soldiers themselves, the members of the tribunal would have no difficulty in believing that at the destruction of the Red Star Brigade, armed civilians captured resisting the attack had been summarily shot by the Germans in accordance with recognised military practice. At the time of the trial, the Americans in Korea were dealing with armed Communist guerillas who were captured attacking their lines of communication in the same summary fashion, as indeed the Italians themselves had recently dealt with such attacks in Abyssinia and in the Balkans.

## **Political necessity**

Consequently, there could be no reasonable doubt that in this fighting with the Red Star Brigade Italian civilians had lost their lives. Although the district in which this fighting had taken place consisted of barren mountainous country, here and

did not release him, but for some unexplained reason handed him over to the British.

By the British the charges of the Italians were once again investigated. Once again they were found to be baseless. The British had already put on trial Reder's immediate superior officer, General Max Simon, and the German Commander-in-Chief in Italy, Field Marshal Kesselring, had convicted both, and later, rather shamefacedly released them. It remains a mystery why the British did not adopt the same procedure in the case of Major Reder. The only reasonable alternative to putting him on trial themselves was surely to release him. But the working of the British legal-military or military-legal mind is beyond mere human comprehension. After long delay the British decided to solve the problem by handing him over to the Italians so that the Italians could decide their own charges against him.

The present situation is the result of that decision.

In conclusion, it may be observed that responsibility for Walter Reder's fate rests upon the Americans, the British and the Italians, but in very unequal proportions.

American responsibility is slight. It is certainly regrettable that they did not dispose of the matter once and for all by putting Reder on trial themselves and acquitting him. Still it is not for a British writer to complain that Reder would have been more likely to have obtained justice at the hands of an American military court than of a British one!

## **British Press ban**

The Italians do not come altogether badly out of the matter. At considerable personal risk to themselves the Italian military court saved Reder's life. No doubt they expected he would secure an early release. Since his conviction Reder has received assurances from successive Italian governments that his case was receiving consideration and that he might hope to be set free shortly. These assurances have not indeed been fulfilled, but there is some excuse for this. Since the war Italian governments have survived precariously, and it is asking much of a politician to expect him to go out of his way to expose himself to attack by ordering the release of a forgotten foreign prisoner dimly associated in the public imagination with the horrors of the Marzabotto



as the Massacre of Marzabotto. According to the story, in the early autumn of 1944, German troops in Italy suddenly took it into their heads to attack a little town in the Apennines behind their front named Marzabotto and to massacre its innocent inhabitants, according to the most popular versions of the incident by shutting them in a church and then setting it on fire. Details varied widely, but the general allegation was that at Marzabotto German troops behaved in much the same way as it is alleged they behaved at Oradour in France or at Lidice in Bohemia or as General de Castries' Moroccans behaved in Freudenstadt in the Black Forest a week before the end of the war.

It is now indisputable that the Marzabotto Massacre is a complete fiction. No massacre, great or small, or in fact anything at all noteworthy, seems ever to have taken place in this quiet little Italian town. This is now tacitly admitted. Thus Robert Battaglia's book, translated into English under the title "The Story of the Italian Resistance," which purports to give a comprehensive survey of partisan activity in

special praise to Field Marshal Lord Alexander for "the skill and fanaticism" of its resistance. During the summer and early autumn of that year he took part in the defence of the Gothic Line running along the ridge of the Apennines. He was transferred from Italy to Hungary early in 1945.

Throughout this heavy fighting from May to October, 1944, there was ever-increasing activity behind the German lines by bands of Italian partisans. This, however, was in general dealt with by the Italian Black Shirt Militia and the German security police. It was a ferocious struggle in which neither side took prisoners. In this struggle Major Reder and his front line troops took no part with the single exception of a particularly formidable commando of Communist partisans known as the Red Star Brigade commanded by Mario Mosolesi, a leading Communist, who styled himself "Major" Lupo, which had established itself in a fortified position in the mountains behind a vital sector of the German front some seven miles south of Marzabotto and only half a dozen miles from the slowly advancing American forces.

captured resisting the attack had been summarily shot by the Germans in accordance with recognised military practice. At the time of the trial, the Americans in Korea were dealing with armed Communist guerillas who were captured attacking their lines of communication in the same summary fashion, as indeed the Italians themselves had recently dealt with such attacks in Abyssinia and in the Balkans.

### Political necessity

Consequently, there could be no reasonable doubt that in this fighting with the Red Star Brigade Italian civilians had lost their lives. Although the district in which this fighting had taken place consisted of barren mountainous country, here and there were a few tiny hamlets which had been used as strong points by the partisans, in which resistance had been overcome by bombs and flame-throwers. Inevitably the unfortunate inhabitants had suffered casualties and their houses damaged.

The verdict of the court therefore was strictly in accordance with the evidence and the probabilities. The political situation in Italy at the time made an acquittal impossible. The Italian Government depended on a precarious coalition of anti-Communist parties, and the release of Major Reder would certainly have been used by the Communists to arouse public opinion in order to bring about the government's downfall and even possibly a revolution.

Probably the Italian military court convicted Major Reder and sentenced him to life imprisonment as the only way open to them to avoid a national crisis and at the same time to save the life of an innocent man.

### Arrested by Americans

It may perhaps seem to some that the case of Major Reder is on the face of it a purely Italian domestic matter. Granted that he was unjustly convicted, was not this merely what must inevitably happen when the accusers of a prisoner act as the judges of their own charges?

The matter is, however, not so simple as this.

At the end of the war in 1945, Reder returned to Salzburg, where he was arrested by the Americans, the occupying forces in that part of Austria, on complaints against him being made to them by the Italians. After detention in a concentration camp at Glaserbach for two years these charges were investigated and found to be baseless. The Americans, however,

The Italians do not come altogether badly out of the matter. At considerable personal risk to themselves the Italian military court saved Reder's life. No doubt they expected he would secure an early release. Since his conviction Reder has received assurances from successive Italian governments that his case was receiving consideration and that he might hope to be set free shortly. These assurances have not indeed been fulfilled, but there is some excuse for this. Since the war Italian governments have survived precariously, and it is asking much of a politician to expect him to go out of his way to expose himself to attack by ordering the release of a forgotten foreign prisoner dimly associated in the public imagination with the horrors of the Marzabotto Massacre.

In regard to the British, their handling of this matter can only be described as extraordinary until the day comes when an official explanation is offered. But that day is possibly still far distant judging from the rigid policy adopted by the British Press of refraining from any mention of the case even in the shape of refuting or rebutting mis-statements concerning it. Although outlines of the facts, more or less accurate, have appeared in the Press of the United States, Ireland, Switzerland, Germany and Austria, the above is the first outline to appear in a British publication.

In the meantime Walter Reder is spending his fourteenth year in captivity.

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

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### Direct evidence

The situation thus created was too critical to be left to be dealt with by the Black Shirt Militia: at any moment "Major" Lupo's forces, numbering some 2,000 men armed by the Allies from the air with rifles, heavy machine guns and mortars, might be reinforced by American paratroops: at any moment an American breakthrough might take place.

To cope with this critical situation Major Reder's unit was withdrawn from the hard-pressed front line in order to take part in an encircling movement against the Red Star Brigade. It was completely successful. "Major" Lupo died resisting to the last near his headquarters on Monte Sole and his followers were killed or scattered. On October 1 Major Reder and his men were back in the front line taking part in repulsing another American breakthrough attempt.

It was in connection with this operation that Major Reder, seven years later, was convicted of having "caused loss of life to the Italian civilian population and damage to Italian civilian property."

The only direct evidence supporting this conviction was a written statement made by an Alsatian deserter from Reder's unit named Julien Legoli, which alleged that

\*For fuller details see "Crimes Discreetly Veiled," Cooper Book Coy., London, 1958.



## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, March 20

**BRADFORD:** 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute, Science Room. Films: Swaffham, Shadow of Hiroshima, etc. Admission 1s. CND.

**LANCASTER:** 7.30 p.m.; Committee Room A, Town Hall. A. Smith, BA, "The Proper Study of Man." International College of Paxology.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Central Africa Crisis. John Stonehouse, MP, N. Kan-yama Chiume, Barbara Castle, MP, Fenner Brockway, MP, Canon John Collins, Father Trevor Huddleston. Admission 1s. at door. MCF.

**LONDON, W.8:** 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

**MANCHESTER:** 3: 10.30 a.m.; Arkwright Ho., Parsonage Gdns. CO Appellate Tribunal.

Saturday, March 21

**ALTON:** 6.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Discussion on PPU Non-violence Working Party's Outline of Study. Young Peaceseekers.

**LEWES:** 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. S.E. Area. Pooled tea, Bring and Buy Stall. PPU.

**LEWES:** 6.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. Sybil Morrison "Pacifism in the Nuclear Age". Chair: Fr. Rawlings. PPU.

**LONDON: W.C.1:** 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Business & Discussion. Arthur Foote "Golden City". PPU Religion Commission.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 10.30 a.m. Picket of Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland High Commission. Meet outside Charing Cross Hospital, just off the Strand. MCF.

**PLYMOUTH:** 2.30 p.m. "Swarthmore", Mutley Plain. Devon & Cornwall AGM, followed by joint PPU/For mtg. to discuss Direct Action and Non-violence. Speaker Pat Arrowsmith. PPU.

Monday, March 22

**BIRMINGHAM, 2:** 10.30 a.m. & 1.30 p.m. Chamber of Commerce, 95 New Street. CO Tribunal.

**LONDON, S.W.2:** 8 p.m. Lambeth Town Hall, Acre Lane, Brixton. Dr. Nicolas Malleson, Marcus Lipton, MP, Benn W. Levy. CND.

Tuesday, March 24

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Wednesday, March 25

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m.; 9 Cossins Rd. (off Coldharbour Rd.), Redland. AGM preparation and talk on German re-unification. PPU.

**LONDON, N.4:** 7.30 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. John Banks "The Non-violent Road to the Social Revolution". PYAG.

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussion with Panel from Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

**LONDON, S.W.4:** 7.45 p.m.; 27 Clapham Park Rd. (Labour Party HQ). John Barclay of International Help for Children. PPU.

Thursday, March 26

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

Friday, March 27

**LONDON, S.W.18:** 7.30 p.m. 13 Elsenham St., Southfields. The Vedantic Outlook by Swami Ayak-tananda—Liberation. Vedanta Movement.

Saturday, March 28

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 4 p.m. Manette St. (Foyle's

# A LETTER FROM DR. BANDA

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THE most convincing evidence that the African National Congress did not plan the murder and massacre of Europeans and Asians in Nyasaland occurs in an incidental paragraph of a letter which Dr. Hastings Banda posted to me on the day he was arrested and deported. It was written before he knew that a State of Emergency was to be declared or that he was charged with plotting massacre.

Dr. Banda describes how there had been clashes between African crowds and armed Europeans. In four cases the Africans had disarmed the Europeans. The question then arose as to what should be done with the arms. The Africans decided to hand them to the police.

Dr. Banda writes:

"There is no rebellion. Not a single European has been threatened by Africans. Certainly not one has been killed. If the Africans are as anti-European as they are reported to be, why in the four incidents, when they had overpowered the Europeans, who had guns, whilst the Africans had no guns, did they simply take the guns and hand them to the police instead of shooting the Europeans?"

"In one instance, I had to call the police myself, as the men brought the gun to me, dramatically wrapped up in the Nyasaland African Congress flag! The European had in this case twice shot in an attempt to kill an African before he was overpowered. In confirmation, I refer you to Inspector David M. Hogan, of the Nyasaland Police, Limbe, Blantyre, Nyasaland. It was he to whom the gun was given by me in my surgery two days ago."

## MASSACRE STORY

It is obvious that if Dr. Banda and his friends had been planning massacre, they would have collected and hidden all the arms on which they could lay their hands.



Dr. Banda

have permitted might have won an influential balancing position in the Legislature. Right or wrong, Kenneth Kaunda is not a gangster. Indeed, he has impressed many of us by his friendliness and reasonableness.

In Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead has panicked not only in words. The Unlawful Organisation Bill which he has introduced rivals the tyrannical legislation of the neighbouring Union of South Africa.

Any person can be arrested on suspicion of belonging to a long list of organisations, including the four African movements in Central Africa, and can be fined up to £1,000 or sentenced to imprisonment for five years unless he can prove that he is not a member! Most of the other organisations have Communist associations, but the Governor is given permission to add to them at any time by proclamation.

One is a little reassured to learn that the Opposition in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, although it is regarded as less liberal than the Government, received this



Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland

PEACE NEWS—March 20, 1959—7

## CLASSIFIED

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**INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL.** Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28



PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.  
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Saturday, March 28

**LONDON, W.C.2**: 4 p.m. Manette St. (Foyle's Corner, Charing Cross Rd.). Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Wednesday, April 1

**LONDON, N.W.1**: 7 p.m. Magdalen Club, 83 Werrington St. Talk and film on International Help for Children. John Barclay. IVS.

**ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA**: 7 p.m. 78A Norman Road, Raymond Williams, MA. "Russians at Oxford". PPU.

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gun to the Nyasaland African Congress flag! The European had in this case twice shot in an attempt to kill an African before he was overpowered. In confirmation, I refer you to Inspector David M. Hogan, of the Nyasaland Police, Limbe, Blantyre, Nyasaland. It was he to whom the gun was given by me in my surgery two days ago."

## MASSACRE STORY

It is obvious that if Dr. Banda and his friends had been planning massacre, they would have collected and hidden all the arms on which they could lay their hands. This is what the Mau Mau-ists did in Kenya. Instead (and Press reports have confirmed this in one instance at least) they handed the arms to the police! This makes nonsense of the "massacre" story.

"No, Fenner," adds Dr. Banda, "please do not believe a single word of what you read in the Tory press about anti-Europeanism in Nyasaland. It is

Mr. Lennox-Boyd assures us in the House of Commons that the position is improving. It is clearly getting worse. A "plot" has now been discovered in Northern Rhodesia, where one wing of the African movement—the Zambia Congress—has been calling for a boycott of the elections on March 20 as a "mockery of democracy." The leaders are accused of a "reign of terror" by witchcraft, putting men in fear of their lives and threatening death and mutilation to women and children. The Governor has likened the Zambia Congress to the Chicago "Murder Incorporated" gangsters.

When I read these words I turned back to Dr. Banda's letter. "Strangely," he writes, "it is only the Europeans who have panicked." The phrases of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia are the phrases of panic. Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, reveal the same psychology in every speech they utter.

The leader of the Zambia Congress is Kenneth Kaunda, whom many of us know. I am not sure that he is right in urging a boycott of the elections. They are certainly a "mockery of democracy," but the limited African representation they would



Sir Edgar Whitehead

to £1,000 or sentenced to imprisonment for five years unless he can prove that he is not a member! Most of the other organisations have Communist associations, but the Governor is given permission to add to them at any time by proclamation.

One is a little reassured to learn that the Opposition in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, although it is regarded as less liberal than the Government, received this Bill with cries of "shame" and "shocking." Those are two words which are increasingly hearing in the House of Commons as Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Alport announce their support of Central Africa's European die-hards.

## SIR ROY'S DISCOVERY

Sir Roy Welensky has now discovered that the source of the African conspiracy of violence is not in Nyasaland but in Accra! He suggests that it was all planned at the People's Conference with a team of observers from Russia in attendance. In fact, the Accra programme for East and Central Africa campaign was based on non-violent resistance in the event of constitutional advance being blocked. As for the Russians at Accra, the team of American observers was still larger and Vice-President Nixon sent a message of sympathy.

The British Government is very much on the defensive. The Labour and Liberal Parties are vigorously challenging its policy and many of the Tories are uneasy. The demand for an all-Party Commission of Enquiry grows.

But no device can resolve the issue which has now been joined in Central Africa. It will mount in crisis until the human equality of Africans is recognised and the right of the peoples (who are in the proportion of 23 Africans to each European) to democracy and self-determination is accepted.

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Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland

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### SUNDAYS

**LONDON**: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

**LONDON**: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON**: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER**: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

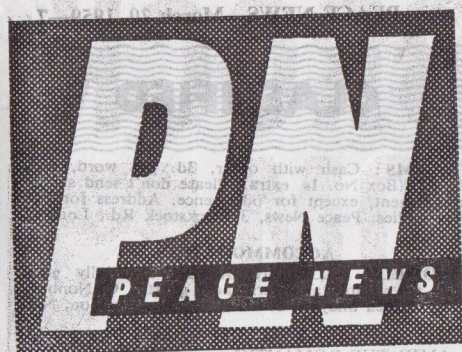
**LONDON, N.4**: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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Sir Roy Welensky





US Air Express  
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## APARTHEID STUDENT PROTEST

By Christopher Farley

**T**WO thousand eight hundred and forty students from Universities in England and Wales rallied in Hyde Park last Sunday to demonstrate against Apartheid in South African Universities.

After leaving the Park they marched four deep for three-quarters of an hour through Central London. Hundreds of large banners and posters were carried, nearly all the students were wearing their College scarves, and at their head marched the student executives of the various Universities and Colleges wearing their academic gowns.

Later Trafalgar Square was packed for a protest meeting addressed by student leaders who emphasised the need for academic freedom and denounced Apartheid.

The protest was timed to challenge the South African Government's extension of Apartheid to all its Universities.

The National Union of Students organised the demonstration at very short notice because gathering world protest had forced the South African Government to move forward its decision by several weeks.

The students meanwhile are trying to raise about £10,000 in the next few months to send as many South African non-European students to South African Universities as possible while the way is still open.

It is interesting to note that the BBC and large sections of the Press grossly overestimated the numbers of students on the march—a mistake they never make when the protest is against nuclear weapons!

# "ACT FOR PEACE"

## plans walks, motorcades, vigils from March 23 - 28 IN 6 U.S. CITIES

From Arthur Springer

Boston, Mass., Sunday, March 15

**T**HREE groups will hold all day walks from Waltham, Quincy and Melrose, Mass. to a silent meeting on Boston Common, Saturday, March 28 to climax a week of public demonstrations throughout the greater Boston area and other parts of the United States to demand a speedy and successful conclusion of the Geneva conference to ban nuclear weapons tests.

Interviews with Congressmen, street meetings, mass leaflet distribution and the silent meeting are planned by Act for Peace, a committee of New England citizens concerned about the stalemate in Geneva.

Similar actions are planned in **NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, CHICAGO, DENVER** and at the intercontinental ballistic missile base at **LOMPOC, California.**

Walks in all areas will begin from points on the perimeter of the area that would be destroyed in a hydrogen bomb attack. Leaflets to be handed out on the Boston walks quote a recent Massachusetts Legislative Research Council report stating

**"It is believed that an all-out attack on Massachusetts might kill over three**

### Vigil at Dortmund

**A** PROCESSION and vigil at the British 47th Rocket Regiment's training ground at Dortmund took place last Friday after a speech by Dr. Martin Niemöller, protesting against German rearmament and the presence of foreign troops in Dortmund.

The demonstration was renewed on Saturday with a second march from Dort-

million people . . . three-fourths of the total population . . . it may be safely assumed that the greater Boston area would be a prime target for enemy nuclear war heads . . . It is estimated by experts that an all-out nuclear attack would quickly wipe out of existence at least 50-60 million Americans, or one third of states like New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey . . . and Massachusetts."

In New York and Philadelphia, motorcades will circle the perimeter of the blast area to dramatise the effects of a nuclear attack on metropolitan centres. Chicago's "Week for World Peace," sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, includes poster parades, vigils, auto caravans and public pamphlet sales.

Act for Peace was planned in response to the call of the Committee for Non-Violent Action to support a recent ad placed in many key newspapers by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Boston Act for Peace states: "No matter who is to blame for the stalemate—and there are highly placed men in all three nations who oppose cessation of nuclear tests—what matters is that the Geneva negotiations must reach agreement as a first step toward human security.

"If the Geneva negotiations fail, some of us believe that our nation, regardless of the actions of others, should announce a step-by-step programme beginning with cessation of nuclear bomb tests, to gradually eliminate nuclear weapons, convert nuclear materials to peacetime uses and actively search for non-violent solutions to the cold war. America must break through the tragic circle of suspicion and mistrust that fill the international atmosphere."

Boston Act for Peace leaflets urge citizens to let the Geneva delegates and President Eisenhower know "that the American peo-

reject the assumption that the only way to do this is through reliance on military force.

"As alternatives, we propose: Prompt conclusion of the Geneva negotiations to end all nuclear bomb tests permanently; prompt negotiations to resolve political problems that threaten nuclear war, such as the Berlin crisis. We propose unification of Germany and creation of a nuclear free zone in Europe; universal membership in the United Nations so that it represents the whole world community; American support for increased economic development and public health programmes administered by the United Nations; government preparation for maintaining full employment while converting defence industries to peacetime production; study of proposals for non-violent resistance to aggression."

The leaflet goes on to list organisations that will send information about the citizen's role in world affairs and states "They are not sponsoring nor do they necessarily support the statements made above." The organisations are New England American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Greater Boston Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

For detailed information write or call:  
**NEW ENGLAND:** Russell Johnson, One Mercer Circle, Cambridge 38, Mass. University 4-3150.

**NEW YORK:** Theodore Olson, Room 825, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y. BEekman 3-0462.

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**CHICAGO:** American Friends Service Committee, 59 East Madison, Chicago 2, Illinois. CEntral 6-2663.

**SAN FRANCISCO:** Ben Seaver, 1830 Sutter St., San Francisco 15, California. WESt 1-1825.

Briefly



Appealed to all its members.

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## Dutch elections

□ FROM PAGE ONE

or remarkable. For the continent they are an exception. I hope that one day the exception will be the rule.

The programme of the Pacifist Socialist Party included disarmament, federal world government, withdrawal from NATO, no missile bases, no military service, recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over Netherlands New Guinea, drastic reduction of the Defence Estimates.

THE word "old-fashioned" conjures up a picture of an outmoded garment, either laid away pleasantly in lavender or given away in charitable mood. Or it might be used in a nostalgic sense relating to something at one time attractive and now unobtainable, or ironic, as being ridiculous through the advent of other innovations.

And now, after centuries of bitter battles between nations, in which victory has either led to suppression and occupation, or to so-called peace treaties which have resulted eventually in other wars, it has been discovered by Britain's Foreign Secretary that the whole thing is an old-fashioned idea!

Perhaps he was thinking in terms of cave-men with their clubs and stones and slings, or of feathered and pointed arrows winging their deadly way from the taut bow-string; or he may have had a sudden vision of swords and lances, and men dressed all over in clanging, clumsy suits of mail, staggering dizzily around like the space-ship men of the future.

Or, perhaps, he has been contemplating that out-moded material dynamite that led

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The demonstration was renewed on Saturday with a second march from Dortmund to the vigil site.

Although it had not been planned as part of the protest, a number of the marchers staged a sit down in front of the barrack gates which was seen on British television. They subsequently agreed to move.

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, represented British war resisters at the demonstration, and spoke from a loud speaker car.

The German section of the War Resisters' International continued with the vigil through to Sunday evening.

tations must reach agreement as a first step toward human security.

If the Geneva negotiations fail, some of us believe that our nation, regardless of the actions of others, should announce a step-by-step programme beginning with cessation of nuclear bomb tests, to gradually eliminate nuclear weapons, convert nuclear materials to peacetime uses and actively search for non-violent solutions to the cold war. America must break through the tragic circle of suspicion and mistrust that fill the international atmosphere."

★

Boston Act for Peace leaflets urge citizens to let the Geneva delegates and President Eisenhower know "that the American people want the Geneva negotiations to continue as long as it takes to reach an agreement."

The Boston committee states, "We believe it is wrong, by all religious and ethical standards, to consider using bombs that can cremate millions of people and turn great cities into dust. Our opposition to the nuclear arms race does not mean that we want America to lay down its arms, think in isolationist terms, and invite totalitarian expansion. We share with many others a desire to preserve and improve the political and social systems of democracy. But we

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## Briefly

A walk to Hiroshima, timed to arrive in the city on August 6, is being planned by the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs. It is expected that thousands of people from all parts of Japan, and some from overseas, will make their way to the city this summer.

\* \* \*

Edward Bernstein who passed away on Feb-18 became a Quaker in World War I after his congregation at Torrington, where he was a Congregational minister, disagreed with his pacifist stand.

is a different matter altogether.

It is, perhaps, peace which is old-fashioned, so old-fashioned that there is no one to recall what it really means. It has certainly taken a very long time for the statesmen of this country to find out that all these new-fashioned horrors are, after all, old-fashioned, and to decide that negotiations are the way to peace.

The tragedy is that these words which might have filled the British people with hope for the future are meaningless in the light of the arsenals of weapons which have just been voted in Parliament, and which clearly there is no intention to discard.

War is a method which is old-fashioned only in so far as it has been habitually used for so many centuries that man has accepted it as part of the way of life on this planet; but Mr. Lloyd would have been more honest and given us some hope for the future if he had called it what it is: a violent and immoral crime against God and man, and it is for that reason that it should be abandoned. When that has been done "peace through negotiation" will have real meaning.

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By Sybil Morrison

## The force of fashion

*We think war is an old-fashioned method of settling disputes between nations. What we want is peace through negotiation.*—Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary, March 14, 1959.

directly to the incredible and monstrous inter-continental ballistic missile, which can fly through space at thousands of miles an hour and destroy whole cities in its plunge to earth.

Is it these horrors which Mr. Selwyn Lloyd now refers to in the all embracing word "old-fashioned"? If it were true that war is out-moded, out-dated, obsolete, something to be cast away, it would certainly be a matter for splendid rejoicing. This, however, is not what the Foreign Secretary has said, nor it would seem what he means; war may be old-fashioned, but unfortunately there is no sign given that abolition would be the outcome of that designation. "Peace through negotiation" is no more than a glib phrase, which has been used far too often, if this old-fashioned affair called war has not in fact been discarded.

Such easy talk, in the light of the Defence Estimates recently debated in Parliament and agreed; estimates which include armies and navies, bombs and bombers, H-bombs and rockets, can only be regarded as absolutely cynical.

Negotiation is the right idea, and one which all people must applaud and support, but negotiation backed up by weapons of war is not negotiation at all, except in the sense of hard bargaining, accompanied by threats both spoken and unspoken. Everyone knows of the armoury of weapons which lies in sinister readiness in the background.

Peace through such means is impossible; a truce perhaps, a thaw, a slackening of tensions, a compromise or small concession; all these things may result from negotiation and are not to be decried, but the peace of goodwill, tranquility and security